

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 094808

O 031529 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8310

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2688

EXDIS

NOFORN

FROM US MBFR REP

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. US REP MET APRIL 3 WITH SOVIET REP KVITSINSKIY AT LATTER'S REQUEST FOR FURTHER TALK ON HUNGARIAN ISSUE. KVITSINSKIY READ OFF RESPONSE TO US REP'S REMARKS OF APRIL 1 (VIENNA 2633). GIST WAS THAT SOVIETS WERE UNWILLING TO INCLUDE REF TO STATES WITH FORCES OR TERRITORY IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN ENLARGEMENT FORMULA BUT WOULD CONSIDER EXCHANGES OF UNILATERAL STATMENTS FROM ALLIES AND HUNGARIANS, WITH LATTER REPLYING THAT ALLIED STATEMENT WAS NOT BINDING, BUT THAT HUNGARY MIGHT CONSIDER PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE AGREEMENTS UNDER THE CONDITIONS SET FORTH BY HUNGARIAN AND WARSAW PACT SPOKESMEN DURING THE PRESENT TALKS. KVITSINSKIY SAID SOVIETS WOULD APPRECIATE RAPID RESPONSE. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON RESPONSE WHICH US REP SHOULD GIVE KVITSINSKIY, IF FEASIBLE BY 0900 LOCAL TIME APRIL 5. END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE MEETING ON APRIL 3, KVITSINSKIY READ TO US REP FROM RUSSIAN TEXT WHICH HE INDICATED WAS TEXT OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM MOSCOW. HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. THE CHARACTER OF THE REMARKS AND SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER MADE BY THE US REP DO NOT APPEAR TO TESTIFY TO A DESIRE TO BRING THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES CLOSER. THE ADDITION OF TROOPS OR TERRITORY IN CENTRAL EUROPE SUGGESTED BY THE US REP TO PARA 2 OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER WOULD NOT BE
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ACCEPTABLE SINCE IT AIMS AT ESTABLISHING UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR THE WESTERN SIDE PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE QUESTION BY THE US REP CONCERNING THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE PROPOSED ENLARGEMENT FORMULA SEEMS PECULIAR IN THE LIGHT OF THE AGREEMENT ESTABLISHED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF MAY 1972 ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO DAMAGE TO THE SECURITY OF EITHER SIDE.

B. THE PROPOSAL THAT THE DEFINITION OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN PARA 2 BE EXPANDED TO SAY THAT THEY WOULD BE POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN REDUCTIONS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS BELIEVED TO CORRESPOND BOTH TO AMERICAN AND SOVIET INTERESTS. THIS PROPOSAL WAS MADE WITH A VIEW OF EASING THE COURSE OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS. THIS FACTOR SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION. (KVITSINSKIY COMMENTED AT THIS POINT THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES PROCEEDED FROM THE VIEWPOINT THAT THE SOVIETS AND THE US WERE THE ONES PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN REDUCTIONS.)

C. THE ARGUMENTS OF THE US REP FOR THE INCLUSION OF UNILATERAL STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN NOTED WITH ATTENTION. OBJECTIVELY, THERE IS NO NECESSITY FOR THESE STATEMENTS. THE PROPOSED FORMULA ON ENLARGEMENT TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES AND PERMITS POSTPONING THE ISSUE OF POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION OF HUNGARY AND ITALY UNTIL THE FALL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE INTERESTS OF EITHER SIDE AND IS THE BEST WAY OUT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

D. IN THE EVENT THE AMERICAN SIDE CONSIDERS FOR ITS OWN TACTICAL REASONS THAT IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO ADVANCE ADDITIONAL POSITIONS FROM BOTH SIDES IN SEPARATE STATEMENTS, WE WOULD BE READY TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING POSSIBILITY: IN CASE OF THE PRESENTATION OF A WESTERN DECLARATION WITH THE SENSE THAT THE NATO COUNTRIES IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WISH TO COME BACK TO THE QUESTION OF THE PARTICIPATION OF HUNGARY, HUNGARY WOULD BE READY TO GIVE A REPLY. THE LATTER WOULD CONTAIN TWO ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS. THE FIRST OF THESE WOULD BE THAT THE UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF THE NATO COUNTRIES WAS NOT BINDING FOR THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THE SECOND WOULD BE THAT PARTICIPATION OF HUNGARY IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS IS NOT EXCLUDED, BUT ONLY UNDER THE CONDITION THAT ITALY PARTICIPATES, THAT IS TO SAY, UNDER MAINTENANCE OF THE CONDITIONS KNOWN TO THE
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WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD IN THE

COURSE OF THE CONSULTATIONS BY THE REPS OF HUNGARY AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

E. THESE DECLARATIONS MAY NOT BE PART OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER.

3. US REP ASKED WHETHER THE FORMULATION OF THE SECOND ELEMENT OF THE POSSIBLE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT MEANT THAT THE SPECIFIC REF TO ITALY MIGHT BE OMITTED, AND REPLACED BY THE STATEMENT ABOUT MAINTAINING THE KNOWN CONDITIONS. KVITSINSKIY REPLIED WITH A SHRUG THAT THE US REP HAD MADE THIS POINT, NOT HE. US REP ASKED WHETHER THE POINT ABOUT NOT INCLUDING THE DECLARATIONS IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER EXCLUDED THEIR INCLUSION IN WRITING IN A PROTOCOL ATTACHED TO THE PAPER. KVITSINSKIY INDICATED THIS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE.

4. KVITSINSKIY ASKED THAT THESE POINTS BE REFERRED TO WASHINGTON AND THAT WASHINGTON REACTION BE FORTHCOMING AS SOON AS FEASIBLE. KVITSINSKIY INDICATED HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO WORK ON THE TEXTS OF BOTH POSSIBLE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS WITH US REP. HE ALSO INDICATED SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO GET SOME IDEA OF WASHINGTON REACTION TO OVERALL PROPOSAL BEFORE INTRODUCING IT INTO QUADRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. HE EXPLAINED THAT MOSCOW DID NOT WISH TO PROCEED ON THIS COURSE WITHOUT SOME ASSURANCE THAT THE US CONSIDERED IT ACCEPTABLE AND FEASIBLE.

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 2688

EXDIS

NOFORN

FROM US MBFR REP

5. RECOMMENDED ACTION: GUIDANCE AS TO WHAT US REP
SHOULD RESPOND TO ABOVE PROPOSAL, IF FEASIBLE BY
0900 LOCAL TIME APRIL 5.

6. WE BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENT SOVIET PROPOSAL AS REGARDS
TREATMENT OF HUNGARIAN QUESTION IN GENERAL TERMS IS
THE MAXIMUM WHICH CAN BE EXTRACTED UNDER
PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES UNLESS WASHINGTON IS PREPARED
TO INVEST CONSIDERABLY MORE TIME IN THE PROJECT.

7. IT WOULD APPEAR POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE THE SPECIFIC
REFERENCE TO ITALY IN THE PROPOSED HUNGARIAN STATEMENT,
ALTHOUGH EVEN THE POSSIBLE SUBSTITUTE WORDING WOULD
NOT BE ATTRACTIVE TO THE ITALIANS. ON THE OTHER
HAND, A PROCEDURES PAPER WITHOUT THE PROJECTED UNI-
LATERAL WESTERN STATEMENT IS UNLIKELY IN THE FINAL
ANALYSIS TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO BENELUX AND THE UK AND
FRG. THE UK, TURKISH AND GREEK REPS HERE HAVE
INDICATED THAT THEY ARE NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE
POSSIBILITY OF AN ENLARGEMNT FORMULA, WHICH APPEARS
TO US THE NECESSARY SOVIET PRICE FOR INCLUSION OF
UNILATERAL STATEMENTS BUT THE REFERENCE IN THE SOVIET TEXT TO
CENTRAL
EUROPE MAY HELP. THERE MAY BE SOME SOVIET
FLEXIBILITY AS CONCERNS MENTION OF CENTRAL
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EUROPE IN THE FIRST PARA OF THEIR SUGGESTED PAPER
AND PERHAPS AS REGARDS MAINENANCE OF PRESENT WORDING OF DEFINITION
OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

8. WE DO NOT LIKE PRESENT BILATERAL MODE OF CONDUCTING
DISCUSSION ON WHICH SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN INITIATIVE,
AND WHICH OF COURSE COULD HAVE NEGATIVE EFFECTS IF
IT BECAME KNOWN. WE HAVE ENGAGED IN IT BECAUSE OF THE
NEED FOR RAPID RESOLUTION OF HUNGARIAN QUESTION, AND
HAVE IN MIND ANOTHER MODE OF HANDLING AGENDA QUESTION
INVOLVING UK, FRG, NETHERLANDS, US AND SOVIETS WHICH
MAY IN FUTURE OBIATE NEED FOR PRESENT MODE. BUT
ASSUME WASHINGTON WOULD IN INTERESTS OF BRINGING HUNGARIAN
ISSUE TO CONCLUSION, AGREE THAT WE PROBABLY SHOULD WIND
IT UP ON PRESENT BASIS, MOVING DISCUSSION OF TEXT INTO
QUADRIPARTITE GROUP WITH NETHELANDS AND HUNGARY AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE. HUMES

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